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The Influence of Family in the Preservation of Appalachian
Traditional Music: From the Front Porch to Performance

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Humanities

By

KATHY Q. HAYES
B.S., Berea College, 1973

2008

Wright State University

WRIGHT STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

June 12, 2008

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY Kathy Hayes The Influence of Family in the Preservation of Appalachian Traditional Music: From the Front Porch to Performance BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Humanities.

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I met with others for advice on this project in the beginning, and I thank each of them. Finally, I thank my husband, John, for his help and for listening to me whenever I needed someone lend an ear. Thank you from the bottom of a very grateful heart.

ABSTRACT

Hayes, Kathy Q. M.H., Department of Humanities, Wright State University, 2008.

The purpose of this project was to extend the literature on the influence of family in the preservation of Appalachian traditional music since few scholars have focused their research on this topic. The family was the first institution in the Appalachian Mountain area, and families preserved the music by performing in their homes for themselves and friends. Families preserved the traditional music, passing it down to future generations. The music was a part of the everyday life of the Appalachian people, and it was performed, remembered, and taken with them wherever they went. Even though the music changed as the culture was influenced by outside forces, the family preserved the culture and traditions, including the musical traditions. This thesis includes the historical background of Appalachia and the settlement of the area, the values of the Appalachian people, the importance of Appalachian families in preserving the musical traditions, and the ballad musical styles of the Carter Family, the Ritchie Family, and the Queen Family.

Chapter I

Introduction

The lights dimmed, and I walked out on the stage of the Strathmore Theater in Baltimore, Maryland, with my four brothers. My mother's voice rang out on stage and a video was playing. She was talking about and explaining the area where she lived and grew up and how it was all surrounded by mountains. The lights came on, and there was the Queen Family on stage in front of two thousand people. We started singing one of my mom's favorite songs, "Sourwood Mountain." I thanked the audience, and we sang another song. Then the video came back on with my mom singing "Will the Circle Be Unbroken," a song made famous by the original Carter family. She sang the first verse, and my brothers and I sang along with her on stage on the chorus of the song. The video ended, and my brothers and I performed the rest of the song. Hearing my mom sing and then singing that song on stage with my brothers was hard, but we sang our hearts out for the crowd knowing that was what Mother would do if she could have been here with us.

We decided that we could not end on a "downer," so I told the audience that my mom loved music as well as dancing. We sang another one of her favorite songs and I danced. The crowd loved the performance, and I felt Mother would have been proud of how the family represented her.

My mom, Mary Jane Queen, won the prestigious National Heritage Fellowship Award from the National Endowment for the Arts. She knew she had won the award about two weeks before she passed away, and the announcement of the award winners occurred at the Smithsonian in Washington, DC on the day my mom passed away. According to the National Council for the Traditional Arts website, the

National Endowment for the Arts' National Heritage Fellowship is the highest honor that our nation bestows upon its folk and traditional artists. Each year, ten to thirteen individuals, 'national living treasures' from across the nation, are chosen to receive this one-time only Fellowship in recognition of lifetime achievement, artistic excellence, and contributions to our nation's cultural heritage.

(National Council for Traditional Arts)

I spent the last two weeks of my mom's life with her, and she told me that she wanted "the children" to go to

Washington to accept the award. When she talked about her eight children as a group, she always referred to them as "the children." She told me that she knew we would do a good job. I told her that we would but that we wished she could be there with us.

Because my mom passed her culture, heritage, and traditions down to her children, we knew the songs she sang and we performed them with her many times. We sang them on our front porch ever since I was a child. As a family, we performed the songs at festivals and music events. She taught us how to sing, to play musical instruments, and to make mountain crafts. Her final wish was that her family carry on her legacy, and we carried out part of that wish in Washington, DC, in her honor at the National Heritage Fellowship Award ceremony. We continue to perform as a family and always tell the audience about our mom and her legacy.

My mom also passed her musical traditions down to the family, as well as to many others who visited her over the years. The Queen family was similar to two others families in their musical traditions and how those traditions were preserved and passed down in the families. The Carter family is more famous than the Queen Family. Jean Ritchie of the Ritchie family is famous and carries on her family

musical traditions. The Queen family was not well known until after the 1980s, but their musical heritage and tradition is as rich as the traditions in the Carter and Ritchie Families. Jean Ritchie of the Ritchie family, Janette Carter, daughter of A.P. and Sara Carter of the Original Carter family, and Mary Jane Queen all received the National Heritage Fellowship Award. All three performers received national recognition for passing on their mountain musical heritage.

The purpose of this project was to contribute to the understanding of the family in the preservation of Appalachian traditional music since few scholars have focused their research in this area. The family in Appalachia was a "closely knit one" (Weller 59), and families preserved the music by performing in their homes for themselves and friends. As families moved from the area, they took their music with them and performed for others. However, some family members did not migrate and continued performing the traditional music as they had learned it. Nonetheless, families preserved the traditional music, passing it down to future generations, whether they remained "at home" or migrated to urban areas.

The music was a part of the everyday life of the Appalachian people, and it was performed, remembered, and

taken with them wherever they went. Even though the music changed as the culture was influenced by outside forces, the family preserved the culture and traditions, including the musical heritage.

For the purpose of this thesis, the family was considered as the family we live by (Gillis xv). John Gillis stated that "we all have two families, one that we live *with* and another we live *by*" (xv). He also added that the family lived *by* is "representing ourselves to ourselves as we would like to think we are" (xv). The family lived *with* is "[o]ften fragmented and impermanent, [and] they are much less reliable than the imagined families we live *by*" (xv). The family we live *by* is "never allowed to let us down" (xv). In this thesis, the family presented is the one that is idealized for the public and the audience.

The first section of this thesis introduces the historical background of Appalachia and the settlement of the area. A map of the area is included, as well as a definition of Appalachia. I discuss how the Appalachian Regional Commission defined the geographical boundaries of the region and how Appalachia has been treated in the news media.

The second part of this thesis focuses on the values of the Appalachian people and the importance of family.

Before the Civil War, Appalachian families were largely self-sufficient, relying on one another for necessities as well as entertainment. Moving into the Twentieth Century, this necessity became a virtue celebrated in the idealization of the family in Appalachian music and identity even as it was manipulated as a negative stereotype in the wider American popular culture. The migrants who settled in the region brought their music and other traditions with them. When the Appalachian people migrated to urban areas, they also took their music with them. The technology that became available through the Twentieth Century influenced the Appalachian way of life, particularly the music. People moved from their front porch and began performing music for others, with many starting a business venture with their traditional music.

The third part of this thesis focuses on the importance of Appalachian families in preserving the musical traditions. Families preserved the music and traditions of the area as a way of life and as part of their social life. Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil Sharp collected the first songs in the Appalachian region. At the same time, the idea of family was and is a key element of the popularization of Appalachian cultural heritage. Both the popularized music and the popular representations,

including those on Public Television and the Internet, of mountain traditions invoked family, along with religion, as a source of its distinctive identity. I present information about their song collecting and contribution in preserving the music of Appalachia. Also many families preserved the music by singing at home for their own enjoyment.

The three musical families discussed are the Carter family, the Ritchie family, and the Queen family. The Carter family is known as the first family of country music. They recorded some of the traditional mountain music from their family and collected songs from others in the Appalachian area. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) presented a documentary on the Carter family entitled The Carter Family: Will the Circle Be Unbroken. PBS has an extensive website to accompany the documentary, including a transcript of the film. From the website transcript, the narrator stated:

By the spring of 1926, all the elements of the most influential musical group in the United States lived within the borders of a small isolated town: Maybelle's innovative guitar picking. Sara's powerful voice and scores of songs passed from generation to generation. For

Sara and Maybelle Carter, music was simply the fun after the day's work was done. It would take A.P.'s stubborn will to bring the Carter Family out from under the shadow of Clinch Mountain.

(Public Broadcasting Service)

Jean Ritchie, of the Ritchie family of Kentucky, is known for her ballad singing and dulcimer playing. She came from a musical family and continues to carry on their musical heritage. In the foreword to her book Folk Songs of the Southern Appalachians, Ron Pen says that "[t]he Ritchies were old-fashioned enough to cherish and retain their legacy of inherited songs but modern enough to appreciate and absorb the new influences of popular music" (Ritchie vii). Jean Ritchie still performs for the public.

The Queen family preserved their music and passed it down through four generations, and the music continues to be passed down. The life of Mary Jane Queen and the Queen family is written autobiographically from the author's perspective as a member of the family. The family performed for their own enjoyment, for friends, and at a few local events until the 1980s. After that, the family became well-known locally and nationally. Neal Hutcheson wrote that the Queen family

. . . are folk musicians in the true sense, mostly playing music at home for their own enjoyment, the songs passed down through their families or learned from neighbors. Each generation, each performer, make their own contribution to the songs they sing as they carry the torch to another generation. (Queen Family Movie)

The Carter family, Jean Ritchie and the Ritchie family, and the Queen family are examples of families carrying on the tradition of music in Appalachia. By passing the music from generation to generation and performing the music, they preserved the traditional music of Appalachia, even though each generation added their own style and made their own traditions.

The fourth part of this thesis discusses the ballad musical styles of the three families, comparing some of the songs. The Carter family preserved the traditional music by collecting the music, recording it, and performing for the public. Preservation of the traditional music by families like the Ritchies happened because the songs were performed, written down, and recorded. Jean Ritchie published books on song lyrics. The Queen family preserved the music because it was a way of life and part of their

existence. The music was sung at home and for friends, and it was handed down to future generations. Later, the family performed the songs and music for the public at local festivals. Audiences influenced the songs that were sung because they wanted to hear the newer, more popular songs. Because of audience influence, new songs were written and traditional songs were updated.

In this paper, the author presents how the music changed from the early years of singing at home to present-day performance and recording. Even though the music changed through the years as each generation added its own style, the music nonetheless was preserved. Beyond this, the music was influenced by technology and the audience. Songs played on the radio reminded others of old tunes they had forgotten. At performances, audiences requested current songs heard on the radio or performed by others. The author summarizes the importance of families like the Carters, the Ritchies, and the Queens, and how they have preserved the traditional Appalachian music. Finally, directions for future research are recommended.

Methodological Issues

To understand the evolution of a culture, researchers must understand its past and the history of the individuals

who produced, reproduced, and sustained that culture. John Stanfield has explained an approach to studying cultures that emphasize orality. He argued that "oral-based cultures are derived from . . . the marginalization and exclusion of populations from centers of capitalistic modes of production, such as inner-city residents and Appalachians. . . ." (184). "Oral communication research," methodologies are, he explained, "often more valuable for understanding the nature of people within . . . [an] oral culture categor[y] than are methodologies dependent upon written responses" (184). Studying the fields of history and sociology, Gaye Tuchman argues that "[w]hat remains in both fields is recognition that research is an interpretive enterprise" (317). With this said, Tuchman suggested that from a historical and sociological perspective, marginalized regions such as Appalachia lack a substantial documented history and that scholars and researchers must rely on an interpretive approach for analyzing data.

Since the Appalachian region was considered an oral-based culture, many scholars have reached different conclusions in interpreting the culture. For example, Bill Malone discussed the survival of folklore and stated that "urban migration, adjustment to industrial occupations, increasing literacy, and intermarriage with outsiders"

(Southern Music 29) were eroding the basis of folk culture. John Gold and George Revill added that "[t]ime was short if scholars were to catch the remnants of what many considered to be America's authentic folklore before it disappeared," while "[f]olk music was felt to be particularly at risk" (55). Malone suggested the Appalachian area was a resilient oral culture based on the songs remembered by the people (Southern Music 30).

Benjamin Filene stated that because little interest was shown in the culture, "rural musicians . . . had no reason yet to think of themselves as "the folk" or of their music as "folk" music (9) and explained that "[t]he process by which American folk music eventually became defined as such and started moving into popular culture [that] began with academics and antiquarian collectors" (12). Folklorists John and Alan Lomax "were the first to use the 'actual folk' to promote a coherent vision of America's folk music heritage" (57). They used mass media to "spread the vision of American music by integrating folk into mass culture" (57). Filene credited the Lomaxes with adding "a new source of authenticity - the performers themselves" and continued by saying that now "[a]udiences and critics began to assess roots musicians with new standards" (58).

George Lipsitz said that "[t]he creators of popular culture do not think of themselves as operating within an endeavor called 'popular culture' but see themselves merely creating signs and symbols appropriate to their audiences and to themselves" (13). He also explained that "[c]ultural forms create conditions of possibility, [and] they expand the present by informing it with memories of the past and hopes for the future" (16), memories added to what is called folklore. According to Michael Ann Williams, folklore is

the study of artistic and expressive behavior in everyday life. Folklorists often focus on the aspects of artistic expression that are passed on orally or learned by example in informal situations, things that most people label as 'traditional.' However, folklorists realize that new traditions constantly emerge in our lives, and something does not need to be old to be folklore. (135)

Given Williams' explanation, musicians preserved the music and folklore of the past by performing and by passing down the traditional Appalachian music. The music had been passed down to them and they continued the legacy.

However, the music changed with each generation and was

"updated" for the present. The Carter, Ritchie, and Queen families represent the musicians because they performed and passed down the cultural heritage and music to future generations. The three families were "actual folk" who carried on the musical legacy in their families.

Internet and Popular Culture Research

Since few scholars have written about the Appalachian culture and its traditions, specifically the music, this thesis relied on Internet research for completing this project. "Certainly, the Internet has revolutionized our perception of information and information access" (Watson 1). However, little extant literature on Appalachia has forced this author to rely on Internet research, Public Television documentaries, movies, commercial recordings and stage performances, and face-to-face folk culture of family gatherings. Watson, a reference and computing services librarian, warned us that researchers need to assess the quality of information on the Internet, judge a "web site's authenticity, credibility, reliability, or believability", determine the accuracy of information", "decide if timeliness or currency is relevant to [our] research" (3-7). In doing so, the author compared sources with each other to judge and determine the authenticity, credibility,

reliability, and believability of sources. Beyond this, Watson argued that completeness of information is a major problem of Internet research.

Much of the information available on folklore and the three families discussed in this paper were only available on the Internet. According to Paul Starrs, "[t]he procedures and possibilities of even deep archival research are changing with search engines, retrospective databases, and virtual libraries . . ." (205). Starrs also argued that because of the Internet "[r]esearch has most decidedly changed . . ." (206). The Internet provided popular culture websites for this paper.

The next chapter introduces the history and settlement of Appalachia, namely, Chapter II.

Chapter II

History and Settlement of Appalachia

When talking about Appalachia, Americans are often curious but uncertain; they may ask, "How is Appalachia pronounced"? "What is Appalachia"? "Where is Appalachia"? Appalachia is many things to many people. It is the Appalachian Mountains. It is a people. It is a culture. People disagree as to the pronunciation of the word Appalachia. According to David Walls, the first European to enter the area was Hernando De Soto and his exploration party in the 1540s. "The name was given by Spaniards under De Soto, who derived it from the name of a neighboring tribe the Apalachi" (qtd. in Walls 56). Walls goes on to explain that "De Soto became lost in the maze of the southern Blue Ridge in 1540, and named the mountains for the Indians who dominated their approach" (56). Walls commented that this is a "widespread legend," but it is the one used in the majority of the books when referencing the naming of the area. John Williams explained that:

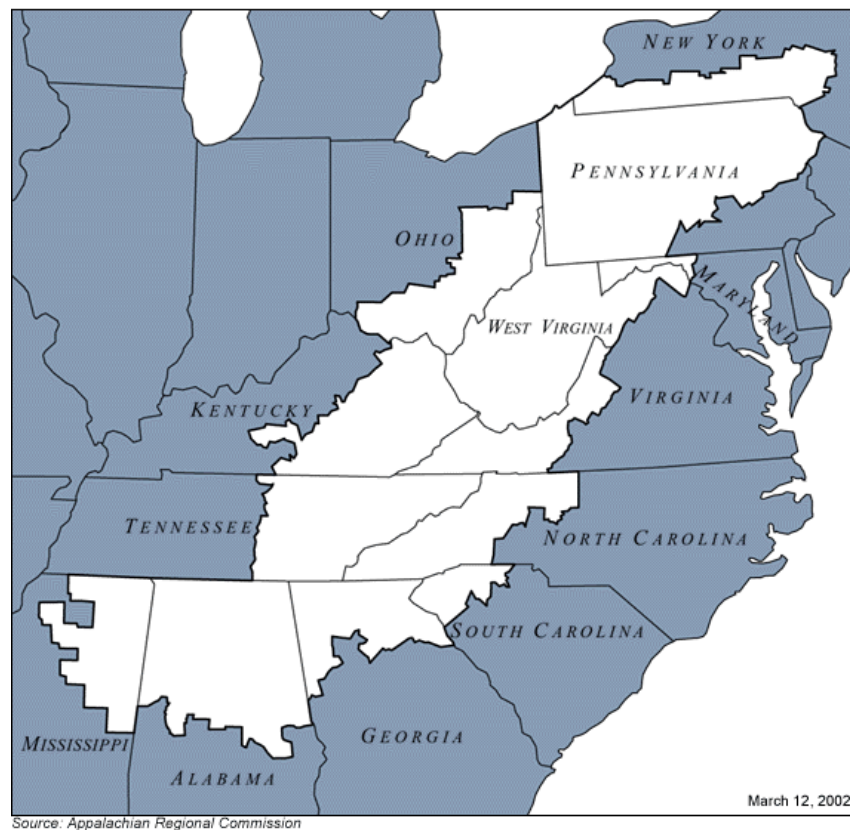
Residents of southern and central Appalachia pronounce the term with a short a (a) in the stressed third syllable. Further north, the same

a is given a long pronunciation (a), as in 'Appal-ay-chia'. Most of the experts and bureaucrats who came from Washington and elsewhere to fix the region's problems beginning in the 1960s adopted the northern pronunciation, while resident experts favor the southern—which led to a situation, according to one commentator, wherein 'people who said *Appalachia* were perceived as outsiders who didn't know what they were talking about but were more than willing to tell people from the mountains what to do and how they should do it'(16). Finally, while a majority of both long and short a users crunch the third syllable as though it were spelled *Appal-atch-yuh*, in New England—where the term 'Appalachian' first came into widespread use by nongeologists thanks to the Appalachian Mountain Club and the development of the Appalachian Trail—a variant pronunciation uses 'sh' rather than 'ch,' as in *Appal-ay-shuh'*. (14)

Over the years, many people defined the Appalachian region in different ways. Appalachia was defined in the 1960s by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson), and that definition is the

one used by most people today. The Appalachian Regional Commission defined Appalachia as including "410 counties in 13 states . . . [that] extends more than 1,000 miles, from southern New York to northeast Mississippi, and is home to nearly 23 million people" (see map below from the Appalachian Regional Commission). The original focus of the Appalachian Regional Commission was poverty and economics, but the Appalachian Regional Commission added to that focus education, technology, and building communities and leaders (Appalachian Regional Commission).

The Appalachian Region



Map of the Appalachian Region (from Appalachian Regional Commission website April 1, 2008)
(Appalachian Regional Commission).

The groups that settled in the Appalachian area came from England, Ireland (including the Scots-Irish), Scotland, and Germany in the 1700s, and the settlers moved southwest from Pennsylvania through the Appalachian Mountains. The immigrants came to America for many reasons, mainly for religious, political, and economic freedom. They moved further south away from the cities and into the mountainous regions because those areas reminded them of the regions they had left. There was much land available to the southwest and it was less expensive than the land in Pennsylvania. The settlers also moved south through Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina (Campbell 24).

According to Karl Raitz, Richard Ulack, and Thomas Leinbach, four well known river routes carried the pioneers south. These rivers were the Forks of the Ohio River, the Cumberland River that led to the Nashville basin, the Kentucky River that led to the Kentucky region, and the Tennessee River that led to the Southwest Territory (later known as Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama). After people knew about the river routes, settlers created roads into the new territories (94-95).

One of the most famous roads that led settlers into the Appalachian Mountains was the Cumberland Gap that was part

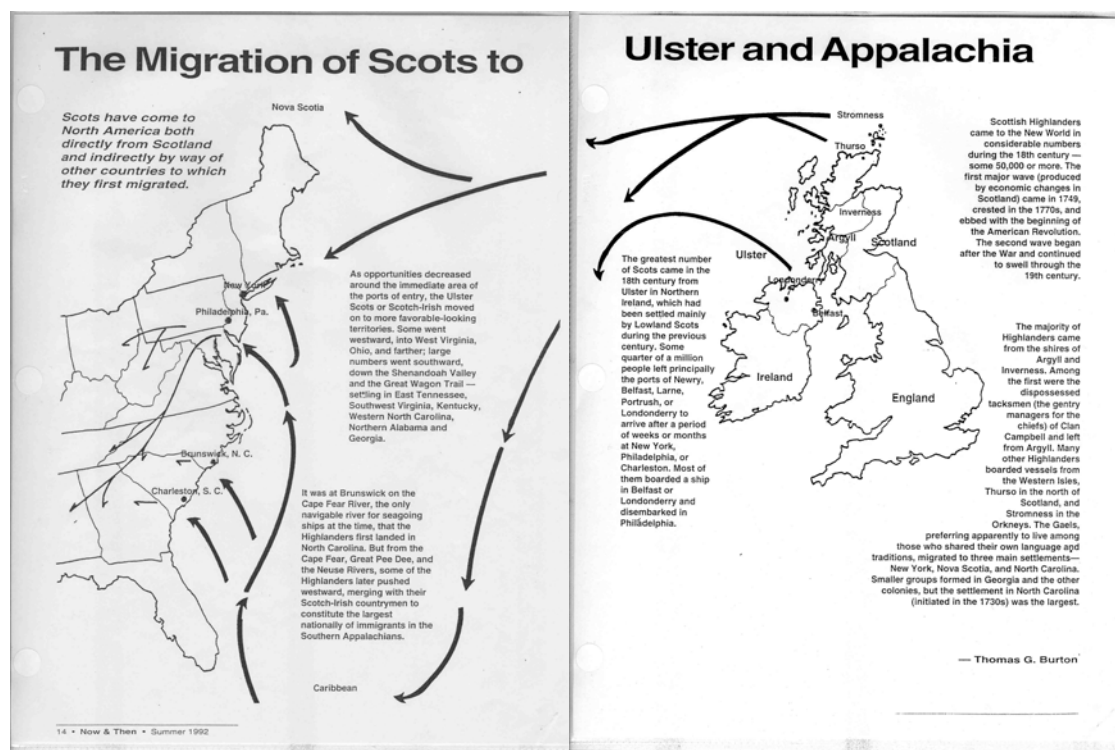
of the Wilderness Road that Daniel Boone traveled in 1775. After it was established, the Wilderness Road connected Virginia and Kentucky (95). Pioneers continued moving south, establishing more roads and settlements along the way. The Scots-Irish was one of the largest groups that moved south into the mountains and approximately 600,000 settlers came prior to the American Revolutionary (Campbell 23).

John C. Campbell described the Scots-Irish people as a sturdy and hardy people who could endure the hardships of mountain life (23). They missed the mountains of Scotland and Ireland, and the Appalachian Mountains reminded them of home. Kenneth Keller stated that "three-fourths of the pre-1790 immigrants settled within the Appalachian region between western New York and eastern Tennessee" (69). When scholars first studied the region, they thought the Scots-Irish was the dominant group living there. The second largest group of settlers was the Germans. They preferred village or town centers, and many German immigrants were "aggressive entrepreneurs" (Raitz, Ulack, and Leinbach 117). The Germans, the Scots-Irish, and other immigrants brought their tapestry of culture with them to the Appalachian region.

H. Tyler Blethen has written extensively about the Scots-Irish. Based on his writings, a short history of how the Scots-Irish evolved is in order. In the early 1600s, James I became King of England, as well as being King James VI of Scotland. He was the first to rule the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He created an "Ulster Plantation" in Ulster, Ireland, to help move people from the Scottish Lowlands and Northwestern England to help with economic hardship and overcrowding. The Scots and English were Presbyterians, and King James hoped that they would crush the Irish Catholics. The mass migration ceased about 1715, with about one-third of the people having Scots heritage now living in Ulster (59-61).

In the 1700s, Ulster had a time of economic hardship, "caused by rapid population growth, escalating rents, a succession of bad harvests, and depression in the linen industry" (62). Many of the people in Ulster migrated to America. Blethen says that more than 250,000 Ulster Scots came, with majority of them settling into the ports of Philadelphia because the towns were too populated for the Scots-Irish. They moved further into the back country, along the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to South Carolina, but most settled in the Appalachian Mountains (61-62). They made a home in Appalachia with their farming

methods, their strong family ties, and their culture. Following is a map showing the migration routes of the Scots-Irish to America.



"The Migration of Scots to Ulster and Appalachia."
Thomas G. Burton. Now and Then. Summer 1992: 14-15.

Moreover, the Scots-Irish brought many traditions to the Appalachian Mountains, but four of the most important traditions were their music, whiskey (moonshine), their religion, and the influence on Appalachian speech. The Scots-Irish were known for their fun-loving ways, and music and storytelling were two ways they entertained themselves and the community. They brought the fiddle to provide

entertainment. The English, Scots, Irish, and Scots-Irish also brought their mountain ballads. This musical tradition and storytelling formed the basis of entertainment for the early settlers of Appalachia. When the families visited or had house raisings and barn raisings, they entertained themselves afterwards with their music and storytelling. These have been passed down from generation to generation to the future and are still being passed down today.

The Scots-Irish also brought their recipe for whiskey when they came to America and that recipe has been passed down in various ways. According to Joseph Dabney, the Scots-Irish brought the methods to America to distill whiskey (942). They found different products to use to make the whiskey in America, but make it they did! After the leaders in America decided to tax whiskey, the people rebelled and made whiskey illegally. The drink was called moonshine in Appalachia, along with many other names. The people in America fought for their right to keep whiskey-making free. But in January 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment took effect banning the making and selling of whiskey (Prohibition Laws). Today in Appalachia, "moonshine" is still made illegally, but no one admits to any being made. However, it "appears" at different events without anyone

claiming to know how it showed up.

James Lynn said that the great contribution of the Scot-Irish was their religion (5). He described the religion as a "brand of evangelical Presbyterianism that developed in Ulster [that] was unique due to the circumstances that the Scottish settlers faced in Ulster" (5). He also says that the religion was affected by the thoughts of Calvinism (5). The Scots-Irish brought this religion to America. In the New World, Lynn says that "some legacy of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, albeit in a transformed way, no doubt lingers in the fervent religious evangelism and revivalism found in the 'Bible Belt', an area where many of the Scotch-Irish settled" (5.) Some Scots-Irish converted to the religion of the Baptists or Methodists because these groups were larger in numbers due to their rule for properly trained ministers being more lax than the Presbyterians.

Along with their religion, the Scots-Irish brought their language with them. Michael Montgomery wrote that there is a lack of research on the subject of the influence of the Scots-Irish in Appalachian speech. Montgomery gave three examples of the influence of the Scots-Irish on Appalachian language:

a. Adding "s" to present-tense verbs after

plural nouns (people knows); this does not occur on present-tense verbs after plural personal pronouns (they know). This feature is limited to Scottish and northern British speech, and by extension to the English of Northern Ireland.

- b. Use of multiple modal verbs (might would, ought to). These have been used in Scotland and Northumbria in Britain, in Northern Ireland, and in mid-Atlantic and southeastern regions of the United States.
- c. Use of "a-prefixing" almost unknown in Scottish English outside of ballads, while a feature of speech in southern Britain for centuries. (183)

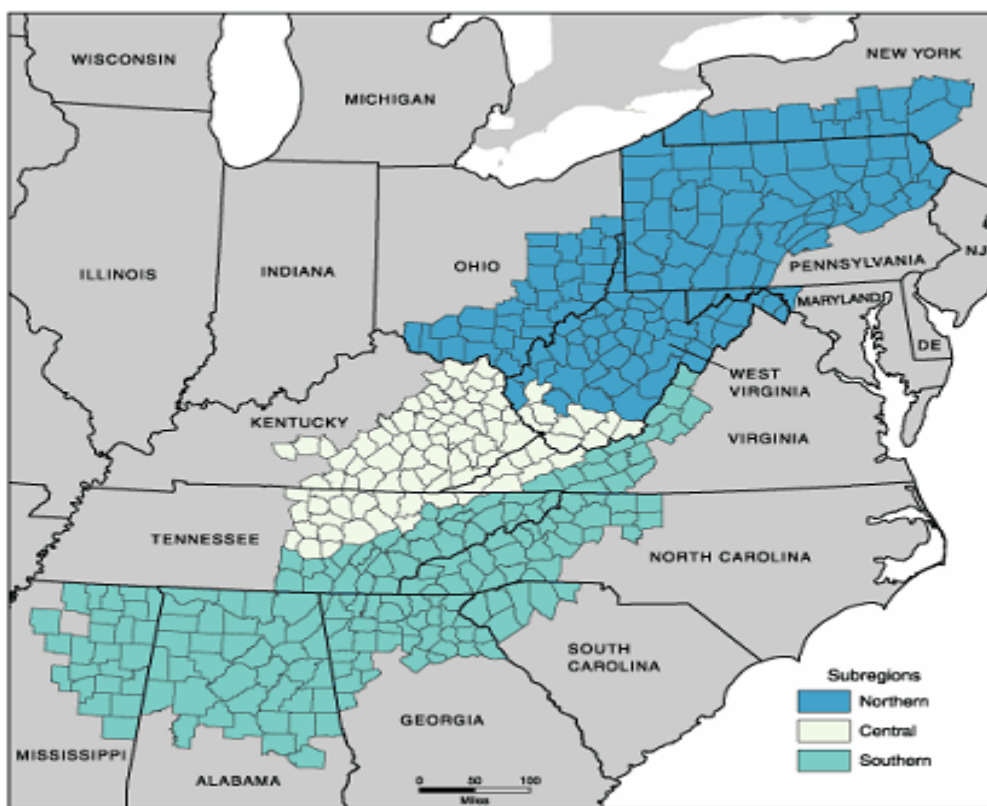
Montgomery also states that much of the usage of Scots-Irish language was described as "general Southern, indicating they [the Scots-Irish] spread throughout the South" (183) because of the migration patterns of the early Scots-Irish settlers (183).

With the influences on speech, religion, drink, and music, the Scots-Irish contributed greatly to the culture of Appalachia and America. The culture has changed throughout the decades because it is a living, changing

culture, not one that stays the same. Each generation has added to the culture with new ways of thinking and acting, new traditions, and new technology. But the traditional ways have been passed down from generation to generation and are still being passed down today.

The Appalachian Regional Commission further divided Appalachia into three sub-regions (shown in the map below) that are "contiguous regions of relatively homogeneous characteristics (topography, demographics, and economics) within Appalachia" (Appalachian Regional Commission). According to the website, these sub-regions were developed in the early years of the Appalachian Regional Commission "and provide a basis for subregional analysis" (Appalachian Regional Commission). The Scots-Irish settled in the central and southern portions of the Appalachian Mountains.

Subregions in Appalachia



Map of Sub-regions of the Appalachian Region
(Appalachian Regional Commission).

Even though the Appalachian Regional Commission stated that the sub-regions are homogeneous in topography, demographics, and economics, the culture in the regions was diverse. Olive Dame Campbell published John C. Campbell's (her husband) book in 1921 after his death. The book was entitled The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. She said that in writing his book, John C. Campbell "understood the difficulties in the way of writing [about] a people who,

while forming a definite geographical and racial group, were by no means socially homogeneous" (xiv). The mountains made travel difficult for those living in the mountains as well as those living outside. In many of the early writings on Appalachia, authors considered isolation a factor that preserved the way of the life the immigrants brought with them. Some recent scholarship questioned the isolation factor and the debate continues. Montgomery called it a myth because he thought life in the mountains was typical to other rural areas. He interpreted the isolation factor to "outsiders" as independence to "insiders," giving them a "sense of freedom" (159-60). He also said that "[t]he strong sense of place held by mountain people, the cohesiveness of their communities, and their attachments to traditional lifestyles and values make them less open to change, less inclined to accommodate to mainstream culture" (160).

Lifestyle in the Appalachian Mountains has been portrayed by many. The image of isolation and self-sufficiency has been repeated, embroidered upon, and mythologized in both negative stereotypes and in the efforts of the Appalachian people to represent themselves and their culture in American popular culture. For Appalachians the mythologized "family we live by" (Gillis

xv) represented in music as well as on modern-day websites, promotes and relies upon this understanding of the family.

Many people wrote about the Appalachian region, its culture, and its people down through the years, and Appalachia is still written about today. The National Geographic Traveler magazine published an article on the culture of Appalachia in the April 2005 issue. The article included a map showing the entire Appalachian area with cultural events in each state. A similar map was part of an article in the April 2008 issue, which included 28 driving tours of the Appalachian area. There is an online searchable version of the map published in 2005 at the National Geographic website. The 2008 version of the map in conjunction with the Appalachian Regional Commission is online at the Visit Appalachia website. Articles like these help educate others about the Appalachian culture.

Congress declared 2002-2003 as the "Year of Appalachia" (Evans). Events to celebrate Appalachian heritage that year included a two-week Smithsonian Folklife Festival on the mall in Washington, DC. The Smithsonian Folklife Festival takes place each year with a different theme. Several million visitors enjoyed the festival celebrating Appalachian heritage. The states in the Appalachian region celebrated the year with various events. The Smithsonian

Folklife Festival portrayed the music and crafts of the Appalachian region, as well as traditions of Scotland and Mali. The music and crafts of the area also highlighted the festival (Smithsonian Center for Folklife).

Mari-Lynn Evans edited a book called The Appalachians: America's First and Last Frontier. Based on the book, a documentary aired nationwide on Public Television. The movie and the book presented a history and portrait of the Appalachian region, including the culture, history, and music. The Sierra Club website created pages about the book and the video and said that The Appalachians: America's First and Last Frontier is "[t]he story of Appalachia about the struggle for and with the land. But through their struggles, the people of Appalachia held on to their love of land and family. Music continued to be an important part of their lives, and they adapted old, traditional ballads into songs that told the story of their lives in America-their triumphs and their sorrows" (Sierra Club).

Furthermore, a new documentary was produced by Agee Films called Appalachia: A History of Mountains and People. It "will be the first film series ever to chronicle the riveting history of one of the world's oldest mountain ranges and the diverse peoples who have inhabited them"

(Agee Films). The film premiers at the University of Tennessee in the fall, and it will air nationwide on public television in 2009.

From the list of publications above, interest in Appalachia currently exists and Appalachia is still in the news. Many of the current books and videos present a more positive picture than some have in the past. The Appalachian people started telling their own stories and putting a more "positive spin" on the region, the people, and the culture. More positive books and videos about Appalachia should become "the norm" as more people become aware of the rich culture and heritage of the region and more people from Appalachian continue telling their story.

The next chapter, Chapter 3, introduces the migration, the value system, and families in Appalachia.

Chapter III

Values, Families, and Migration in Appalachia

As highlighted by the Smithsonian Folklife Festival and publications about the region, the music, heritage, and traditions of the people who settled in Appalachia have survived until today. It is a living, changing culture, not one that remains static. Each generation has added to the culture with new traditions and new technology. Many of the hardy settlers lived in areas with few neighbors and sometimes no community. The people counted on their values and the land to get them through hard times. Loyal Jones, retired Berea College professor and director of the Appalachian Center at Berea, identified some common values shared by the Appalachian people and published a book about their value system. Others have referenced these values to identify the Appalachian people. Below is Jones' list of values with a general definition from the Ohio Appalachian Center for Higher Education website ([Ohio Appalachian Center for Higher Education](#)). They are as follows:

Individualism, Self-Reliance, Pride - most obvious characteristics; necessary on the early frontier; look after oneself; solitude; freedom; do things for oneself; not wanting to be beholding to others; make do

Religion - values and meaning to life spring from religious sources; fatalistic (outside factors control one's life, fate, believe things happen for a reason and will work out for the best); sustains people in hard times

Neighborliness and Hospitality - help each other out, but suspicious of strangers; spontaneous to invite people for a meal, to spend the night, etc.

Family Solidarity or Familism - family centered; loyalty runs deep; responsibility may extend beyond immediate family; "blood is thicker than water"

Personalism - relates well to others; go to great lengths to keep from offending others; getting along is more important than letting one's

feelings be known; think in terms of persons rather than degrees or professional reputations

Love of Place - never forget "back home" and go there as often as possible; revitalizing, especially if a migrant; sometimes stay in places where there is no hope of maintaining decent lives

Modesty and Being Oneself - believe one should not put on airs; be oneself, not a phony; don't pretend to be something you're not or be boastful; don't get above your raising

Sense of Beauty - displayed through folksongs, poems, arts, crafts, etc., colorful language metaphors, e.g. "I'm as nervous as a long-tailed cat in a roomful of rocking chairs."

Sense of Humor - seem dour, but laugh at ourselves; do not appreciate being laughed at; humor sustains people in hard times

Patriotism - goes back to Civil War times; flag, land, relationships are important; shows up in community celebration and festivals. (Ohio Appalachian Center for Higher Education)

All of the values are important to the Appalachian people, but this paper concentrates on the values of "familism" and "love of place." Families instilled these values in their children, and familism and the home place carried many of the families through hard times and helped them to value their heritage.

Raitz, Ulack, and Leinbach wrote that families settled and created communities in the Appalachian Mountains and "from 1725-1775, German and Scotch-Irish immigrants spread along the Great Valley, through the gap in the Blue Ridge at Roanoke to the Carolina Piedmont" (119). They brought their way of living, which included farming, growing their own food, and being self-sufficient. Being resourceful, the Scots-Irish way of life worked well in the mountains of Appalachia (115-17).

Because the Scots-Irish people were self-sufficient and resourceful, they "sought out the isolation of the frontier" (118). The mountainous terrain made isolation a part of their way of life. They learned to depend on each other, family, and neighbors for support and help. Family ties were strong. In the late 1930s and 1940s, sociologists started to study family bonds in the South. In 1948, sociologist Rupert B. Vance found "that southern social life was centered in the home and that family

solidarity was stressed so much that a clannishness prevailed" (Wilson and Ferris 1105). Other values included "extended kin networks" and "expectations for contact, mutual support, and affection between family members" (1105). Sociologists Ernest Burgess and Harvey Locke studied families in the region and coined the term "familism" to describe the attributes of families in the South (1105).

In Appalachia, treating other family members with loyalty and respect was "familism." The center of life is the family, and family always comes first. Carl Feather described familism as "all social relationships and institutions are permeated by and stamped with the characteristics of the family" (2). He also claims that "familism was a key to the success of the migration" (2). Family members who had already moved out of the mountains were the reason that many others left. There were family members who remained in the new area to help the new migrants adjust. The people who migrated did not break ties with the family left behind, a link that gave them a bond with the family left in the mountains (2). Moreover, family ties were strong from the beginning of settlements in Appalachia and still remain strong today.

Family ties helped members take care of each other and helped in times of trouble. Home was considered a place of safety (Schwarzweiler, Brown and Mangalam 4, 58-61, 90-91). The Appalachian family was usually "composed of husband, wife, and their immature children" (Brown and Schwarzweiler 64). In the past, families favored the male children. The father dominated the majority of families and made the decisions for the family. However, a shift in patriarchal power is starting to change because "mountain families are taking on the characteristics of the equalitarian pattern as commonly practiced in contemporary urban families" (66). Consequently, more young women and mothers are working outside the home, which has changed the way females are viewed in the family (66). The paternalistic way of life seemed to be changing too.

Young children, both girls and boys were not as central in the family as in other parts of America, and they usually left home when they became adults. The children usually have a large extended family to offer them love, support, and care. Parents were strict with the children, punishing them when necessary. Children were taught responsibility and how to be self-sufficient (6).

Self sufficiency led to individualism as a trait in Appalachian people and was a part of the Scots-Irish

heritage brought by the original settlers. Weller wrote that it was "an absolutely essential trait" (41). Families had few neighbors and had to depend on themselves for medical care, teaching their children, and providing the necessities of life. This made mountaineers self-sufficient, but they still got together and had a social life in the mountains, such as quilting bees and corn huskings. All members joined in social gatherings and learned about family heritage and traditions.

Along with the background of traditions, Appalachians loved the land. Love of the home place and land were traits that gave Appalachian families part of their strength. Land was one of the things that drew families to settle in new areas, and family and land created Appalachian communities. Allen Batteau wrote that the relationship to the land created one of the main struggles between the people of the area and society at large. He called it a "class struggle" because land was valued in different ways by each group. People outside of the area considered land as a commodity, while people in the mountains identified with the land as part of what belongs to their family. Many families inherited it from their ancestors and wanted to pass it on to future generations (462).

Out-migration interrupted passing land in the mountains to the next generation of the Appalachian people. According to Gary Fowler, the stem family concept

encourages out-migration and maintains the home place, whereas the kinsfolk form a network of branch families which facilitates the migrant's adjustment at destination. Migration, therefore, is an adaptive mechanism which preserves the social system and traditional cultural values in the face of change. (710-11)

Appalachians migrated to areas where they have family or friends, but they did not always have a home and land until they lived in the area for a while. The people that migrated earlier helped them adjust to the new area, and the family left at home was there as a part of a safety net.

The early settlers identified with the land because it gave them a sense of belonging. Even today when Appalachians leave their land, they have a sense of longing and that place will always be home. The home place was passed down to future generations and many places stay in the family for years. The house I was born and raised in was the house my grandfather built that has been passed down to my generation, and it will continue to be passed

down to future generations. When I think of home, even though I do not live there, the family homestead is where I consider home. When I go to visit family, my phrase is "I'm going back home." My brother still lives in the house my parents lived in that my grandfather built, so the home place continues to stay in the family.

Home and family were important to the people who settled in the area. Many times family and kin were the only other people living close by. They only had each other to depend on, especially in time of need and hard times. Jack Weller says the family tie is more emotional than social (59). In early Appalachia the family was patriarchal. When children left home, they settled near their parents. Families visited each other often because the family bond was strong, and they took care of each other in time of illness. They helped each other with children, and children helped with work around the home and farm (Weller 59-61). However, families are less patriarchal today, and many families have moved away from the home place. Family ties are still more important in Appalachian families than in many others, and families visit each other today but are more spread out than in the early years.

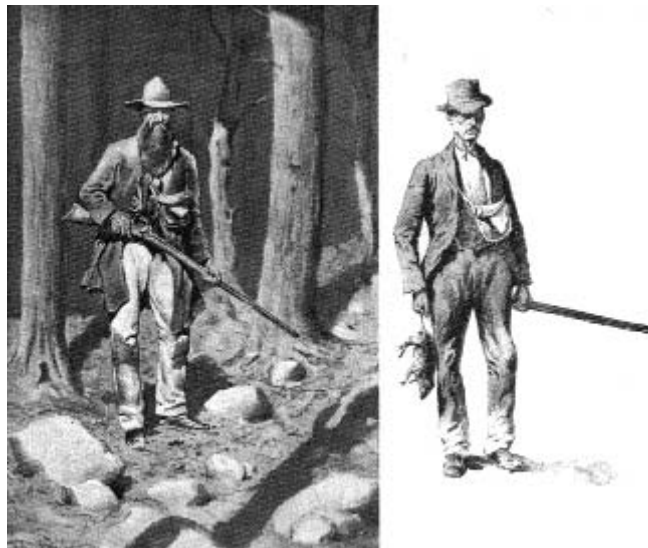
"Going back home" was a phrase used by many who left their Appalachian homes and migrated to other areas. Migration occurred because of job hunting and/or a way of life other than farming. The greatest migration from Appalachia took place after World War II. From the 1950s to the 1970s Phillip Obermiller and William Philliber said that over three million people left the Appalachian area (1). Obermiller stated that that lots of young men left for the military and others migrated looking for jobs in the wartime factories. The majority went to the Midwest to the car factories. Some migrated to other areas looking for different kinds of jobs (94). Obermiller added that the people who were in this period of migration from the 1940s to the 1960s became the "urban Appalachians" (95). The early migrants were men. They found jobs and their families joined them later. Many of these families settled in the same parts of towns where they migrated. Many told others of available jobs, and relatives moved to that area. The kinship ties kept many people there, but also left the ties "back home" at the family homestead.

Because of the family ties and the strong independence of the Appalachian people, they viewed people from the area as "outsiders." When the industrialists came to the area for the coal and timber, many of the early settlers were

treated unfairly. John O'Brien wrote a book called At Home in the Heart of Appalachia. Random House interviewed O'Brien. In reference to the effect of industrialization on Appalachia, O'Brien said that "industrialization was lightning-fast and brutal. By 1930 . . . forest[s] . . . had been clear cut, and mines had laid to waste large portions of the landscape" (Random House). He further added that the "social order collapsed" and "[s]uspicion and mistrust ran wild" (Random House). To this day, many people still living in the Appalachia region are leery of outsiders for this reason. Many families lost their home place because of the industrialists. Because of this attitude with people from outside the area, Appalachians were considered "different" from other Americans and this has led to stereotyping the Appalachian people.

Stereotypes first started for the mountaineer in the 1870s after the Civil War. David Hsiung said that each "stereotype has some basis in truth, but the danger comes when stereotypes make it easy to generalize and paint everyone with the same brush" (102). Some stereotypes of Appalachians were uneducated, poor, and lazy. These images started with what became known as the local color movement during the late 1800s through the early part of the 1900s. The mountaineer was romanticized in magazines and novels.

Hsiung stated that in the late 1800s the mountaineers were considered as being from a "distinct region and culture" (103) different from other parts of America. He also said that those responsible for magazines looked for something different to include in their publications. Others started capitalizing on the image of the mountaineer to bring visitors to the area. In 1921 John C. Campbell said that "the Highlands . . . [are] a land about which, perhaps, more things are known that are not true than of any part of our country (xxi). Below are some pictures that appeared in Harper's New Monthly Magazine in the 1800s.





*Stock characters in the mythology of Appalachia include the shiftless Hunter and Granny smoking a cornucob pipe.
From Harper's New Monthly Magazine,
1894 (above) and 1886 (below) (Algeo 29).*

The images succeeded in establishing a stereotype of the Appalachian people, and the trend continued. With the invention of radio and television, "hillbilly" music was shared with the world. Television shows like The Beverly Hillbillies and Dukes of Hazard continued the stereotype. In recent years, movies added even more stereotypes to the list, including Deliverance in the 1970s to O Brother, Where Art Thou? in 2000. Only education can change these stereotypes. Younger generations are not as familiar with them as past generations and that can create a change in

attitude as well. Even though stereotypes created some negative images, many positive aspects of the Appalachian culture have been shared with the world through the mediums of radio and television, as well as through the Internet. The Appalachian people persevered in the past to maintain their traditions, heritage, and music, and that resilient character will persist into the future.

Some parts of this thesis relied on the Internet for research in the areas of history and culture. Watson stated that the Internet "is particularly useful for finding current information and historical information" (1). She argued that entire wording of documents is available, which makes them searchable (1). By having searchable documents, it is easy and saves time in finding exact phrases, etc. Watson also argued that "sometimes, the Internet is the only place where you will find some primary materials. . ." (2). Watson's suggestions apply to this thesis because much of the material used was only available on the Internet.

The next chapter, Chapter IV, presents the Appalachian families and their music.

Chapter IV

Appalachian Families and Music

The Scots-Irish brought their songs and music traditions with them when they settled in the Appalachian area. The English, Scots, Irish, and Scots-Irish immigrants remembered the ballads because they had been shared in families and communities through oral tradition. They continued singing the music as a part of their everyday life.

Oral tradition gave the world the ballad because it started in oral form and was passed down to future generations from those who had learned the songs. A ballad is a story told in song that had been passed down by oral tradition. Gordon Gerould provided a broader definition: "a ballad is a folk-song that tells a story with stress on the crucial situation, tells it by letting the action unfold itself in event and speech, and tells it objectively with little comment or intrusion of personal bias" (11). From the country folk to the elite, most people enjoyed ballads. The ballad was originally popular with the merchant class and was later connected with the "fashion for the French carole, both courtly and popular" (Porter

et. al). The genre of ballads is enjoyed for words and/or musical accompaniment. Gerould said that "the ballad of tradition . . . has no real existence save when held in memory and sung by those who learned it from the lips of others" (2).

The ballads were sung and passed down and came to America from England, Ireland, and Scotland, but the Scots-Irish had the most influence on the ballads and stories in Appalachia (sometimes called Ulster Scots). They brought their stories, ballads, and music with them to their new home. Dianne Meredith concluded that the understanding of human migration is crucial to the study of musical traditions (170). Like other groups, the Ulster Scots who migrated to the region in two waves, peaking first between 1710 and 1830 and then between the Seven Years' War and the onset of the American Revolution, carried their musical traditions with them. Pushed by economic conditions and drawn to greater religious freedom, Meredith found that "by 1775, 150,000 Scots had left Ulster for America, two-thirds more than the total immigrants from Scotland itself and when the Ulster Scots arrived, they were chagrined to find themselves termed the Scotch-Irish" (170). Many of the Scots-Irish settled in the mountains, still on the fringe of European settlement at the time of the American

Revolution. Meredith and cultural geographer George O. Carney both concluded that the region, along with the newcomers' cultural baggage, played a key role in shaping aspects of the vernacular culture (Meredith 170).

Gerould claims that an instinct for conservation also played a role in preserving the culture brought by the Europeans (256). People from many European countries first settled in America, and each wanted to preserve their folkways. However, culture changed through the blending with others in each community. As they moved and settled in new areas of America, both the old and new traditions became part of their new culture. Appalachians shared their ballads and stories with others and passed them down to their children, so they would be part of the future of Appalachian musical folkways.

Arthur Krim stated that finding the ballads in Appalachia was linked to the work of Francis J. Child in England. Child researched and preserved ballads in England and published English and Scottish Ballads in 1857-1850 (92). Child continued collecting ballads and publishing more books. His findings "became the standard reference work of British ballad origins to the present," and "by 1900, the Child ballads had become the accepted reference source for collectors in Britain and America" (92).

According to sources in Pepys' Diary of 1666, one example of Child's collection was "Bonny Barbara Allen." "Barbara Allen" is known as Child Ballad #1860, commonly written as Child 1860 (92). Majority of the ballads Child collected are referenced back to him and noted as mentioned above.

Ballad collecting began in the Appalachian area by educational centers (92). The best known school for ballad collecting was the Hindman Settlement School in Hindman, Kentucky. Olive Dame Campbell visited the Hindman Settlement School in 1907 and heard a ballad entitled "Barbara Allen." Campbell remembered the song from her childhood, but "the high modal tone of the mountain singing style struck her unforgettably" (93). This experience motivated Campbell to "begin a systematic collection of old mountain ballads" (94). At this time, her husband, John C. Campbell, was continuing his work and traveling the Appalachian area. She traveled with him and from 1907 to 1915, and "Olive Dame Campbell collected over seventy old-style ballads from her Appalachian Mountain tours with her husband" (qtd. in Krim 95). John C. Campbell died in 1919, but his wife, Olive Dame Campbell gathered his notes and published his book posthumously, entitled The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. He was responsible for making popular the phrase "Southern Highlands," referring to the

Highlands of Scotland (Craft Revival). Below is a picture of John C. and Olive Dame Campbell from the Western Carolina University Digital Collection.



1910 - John C. Campbell and Olive Dame Campbell, Demorest, Georgia. <http://wcudigitalcollection.cdmhost.com>).

Olive Dame Campbell, Cecil Sharp, and Maud Karpeles deserve much of the credit for preserving the Appalachian folk songs and ballads. In 1915 Campbell met Cecil Sharp

at the home of a friend when she returned for a visit to her home in Boston. Krim quotes M. Yates on the visit: "Sharp was greatly impressed by the Campbell collection and immediately realized that she had 'tapped a mine' of old Irish, Scottish, and English folk songs preserved in the Southern Appalachians" (95).

David Whisnant writes that Sharp suggested a partnership with Campbell after reading her materials, and Campbell agreed to the partnership (114). Campbell and Sharp published English Folk Songs of the Southern Appalachians in 1917 from the ballads she had collected and those collected by Sharp on his trip to Appalachia in 1916. Campbell stayed in touch with Sharp through the early 1920s and went to see him in England in 1923. Her interests changed as she worked on publishing the book of her late husband.

After the publication, her work took a new turn to start a school in the mountains of North Carolina based on the Danish folk school model (127). Her final legacy to Appalachia was the John C. Campbell Folk School, built in Brasstown, North Carolina, and named for her husband. According to the Folk School website,

[i]n 1925, the Folk School began its work.

Instruction at the Folk School has always been

noncompetitive; there are no credits and no grades. Today, the Folk School offers a unique combination of rich history, beautiful mountain surroundings, and an atmosphere of living and learning together. (John C. Campbell Folkschool)

Even though Oliver Dame Campbell's interests changed, Sharp continued collecting the ballads of Appalachia. Cecil J. Sharp journeyed to America four times from 1916 - 1918, collecting ballads and songs. Maude Karpeles traveled with him to make music notations for the songs (Gold and Revill 55). On their trips to Appalachia, Sharp and Karpeles visited Asheville, North Carolina, the Tennessee area, and traveled to the coal mining districts of West Virginia. They collected 1,612 ballads, including variations, from 281 people in the Appalachian area. Sharp's interest was the mountain ballads and most were sung without music (60).

Maud Karpeles' first love was folk dancing. She met Cecil Sharp because of his involvement in England with the Folk-Dance Club. She and her sister learned to dance and taught at the school. Sharp established an American branch of the school, and Maud Karpeles was one of the instructors. After instruction in dance in the summer of

1916, Sharp and Karpeles traveled to Appalachia in July for nine weeks in search of ballads (Bronson 457). After this trip, Karpeles returned to England. On his next trip to Appalachia, Sharp was not well and asked Karpeles to return to America to help him. She returned, thus beginning her trips to Appalachia with Sharp to collect ballads (457).

In the introduction of English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, published in 1917 by Campbell and Sharp, the following was noted concerning the people of Western North Carolina: "I was able to ascertain with some degree of certainty that the settlement of this particular section began about three or four generations ago, i.e. in the latter part of the eighteenth century or early years of the nineteenth" (iv). Sharp described the people as "present day residents of this section of the mountains are descendants of those who left the shores of Britain sometime in the eighteenth century" (iv). Further descriptions were "independent economically," religious in that they "know their Bible," have "unselfconscious manners of the well-bred," and are "courteous and friendly" (v). Other descriptions included that many were illiterate, but they were a strong, clean-cut group (v). Sharp added that "[i]n their general characteristics, they reminded me of the English peasant" (v).

Sharp described the region as well as the people. He said there were few roads and "practically no railroads" (iv). Because the terrain was hard to travel, Sharp concluded "that the inhabitants have, for a hundred years or more been completely isolated and cut off from all traffic with the rest of the world" (iv). He also said that they speak English, not American. Sharp's characteristics of the Appalachian people were the same as some of the characteristics noted by Loyal Jones.

Sharp looked forward to meeting the people and collecting their songs. He noted that he might be "disillusioned" because of his experience in England. Only the elderly people knew the songs (vii-viii). He was pleasantly surprised when he found "pretty nearly everyone I met, young and old" knew songs (viii). He stated that he "found himself for the first time in my life in a community in which singing was as common and almost as universal a practice as speaking" (viii). When he would ask the people to sing a song, the reply might be "'Oh, if only I were driving the cows home I could sing it at once!'" (viii). If someone did not remember a song, others would remind them of the verses. Sharp stated that "I have no doubt but that this delightful habit of making beautiful music at all times and in all places largely compensates for any

deficiencies in the matter of reading and writing" (viii). Sharp further said that "some of the hours I passed sitting on the porch (i.e. verandah) of a log-cabin talking and listening to songs were amongst the pleasantest I have ever spent" (ix).

Sharp also said the singing of the Appalachian people compared with the British, in that they sang in a "straightforward, direct manner, without any conscious effort at expression, and with the even tone and clarity of enunciation with which all folksong collectors are familiar" (ix). He further observed that the difference in the singing of the British and the Appalachian mountaineers was that the Appalachians sang "with somewhat less restraint than the English peasant" (ix). Sharp said the folk singer is really not performing for an audience, and "when singing a ballad, for instance, he is merely relating a story in a peculiarly effective way which he has learned from his elders, his conscious attention being wholly concentrated upon what he is singing and not upon the effect which he himself is producing" (x).

Sharp came across one person that played an instrument when they sang; that instrument was a guitar and it was in Charlottesville, Virginia (x). [Author Note: According to the definition of Appalachia from the Appalachian Regional

Commission, Charlottesville is not in Appalachia (Appalachian Regional Commission). He heard instrumental music on the fiddle (music with no words). Sharp said he noted some of these songs and hoped to publish them later (x).

Sharp's interest was the Appalachian ballads. He said that "no two singers ever sing the same song in identically the same way" (xi). He and Karpeles recorded the variations of the ballads and stated that "[t]hese are of great interest and significance and sometimes show an inventiveness on the part of the singer that is nothing less than amazing. . ." (xii).

Sharp defined a ballad as a narrative that is impersonal, but he defined the song as "a far more emotional and passionate utterance and is usually the record of a personal experience" (xii). He also said that the text of the ballad has sometimes been more popular than the music. Furthermore, Sharp argues that some of the tunes can stand alone but that "the two elements should never be dissociated; the music and the text are one and indivisible, and to sever one from the other is to remove the gem from its setting" (xii).

Cecil Sharp, Maud Karpeles, and Olive Dame Campbell were three of the first people to collect the Appalachian

ballads. By collecting them, they preserved the ballad traditions of the early settlers of Appalachia. Without their perseverance, many of the songs we hear today could have been lost because the people who knew them would be gone or many could have been forgotten. It was through the hard work and dedication of Campbell, Karpeles, and Sharp that much is known about the early Appalachian music and families. Below is a picture of Sharp and Karpeles in Berea, Kentucky from Michael Yates' article.



Cecil Sharp & Maud Karpeles at the Berea (Kentucky) railway station. Photo by G Bradley

"Cecil Sharp in America." ([Mustrad website](#)). (Yates).

Even though the people who performed for Sharp and others did not perform for an audience, they helped preserve the songs that would later be performed for the world. Peggy Langrell claims that "[t]he gentle old-time mountain styles remained little known—hidden away in the hamlets as country music grew into a giant industry that flooded the airwaves with popular sound" (38). According to Bill Malone, the guitar was in America since colonial times but was considered an elite instrument, and it moved slowly into the mountains (Country Music USA 24). Malone also informed us that folk singer Hobart Smith told folklorist Alan Lomax said "that he saw his first guitar about the time of World War I when a black construction gang laid rails into Saltville, Virginia" (Country Music USA 24). The guitar provided an instrument to accompany the songs the mountaineers sang, and "[t]he solid steady rhythm of the black guitarists, as taught to white children or heard at camp meetings, brought new life to old styles and moved country music from the ballad tradition" (Langrell 38).

Not only was there a new style of music, but new technology appeared. The radio appeared in the late 1920s and "offered millions of listeners a rich array of music, news, and drama" (Hall et. al 237). Record companies

joined the scene, and "[s]earching for new audiences in the early 1920s, record companies discovered hillbilly music - the music of choice for farmers-turned-millhands-and begun transforming ballad singing, fiddle playing, and banjo picking into one of America's great popular sounds" (237). A record producer named Ralph Peer discovered the Carter family in 1927, and the music industry changed forever.

In 2002 Mark Zwonitzer and Charles Hirshberg published a book entitled Will You Miss Me When I'm Gone: The Carter Family and Their Legacy in American Music. In the Acknowledgements section of the book, Mark Zwonitzer writes that he met with his friend, Charles Hirshberg, and learned about the Carter family. He said that it took about five years to start writing the book, and during that time, he gathered information for the book (ix). He said that

the lack of primary written sources presented a problem. The original Carters - Sara, Maybelle, and A.P. - gave few interviews, kept no diaries wrote few letters, and save almost no correspondence. (ix)

Zwonitzer also said that he contacted Ed Kahn, a scholar he knew, who gave him materials he had collected. The material consisted of interviews, transcripts of radio

shows, and stories of those who had worked with the Carter family (ix-x).

Zwonitzer said that the Carter family generations of children and grandchildren made the book a success and that "their memories brought A.P. Sara, and Maybelle to life" (x). He credited two granddaughters of A.P. and Sara as the "guardian angels" of the book. They drove him around Scott County, Virginia, to see the places that were important to the Carter family. Zwonitzer stayed with them when he visited. He credited Janette Carter, daughter of A.P. and Sara, as the hero of his efforts because "before A.P. died, he implored his youngest daughter to keep his music alive. She did her best to carry out that wish. For more than twenty-five years, with little help and less money, she has run a weekly music program at the Carter Fold and an annual festival," (xi) and he said that he "can never thank her enough" (xi). Some of the Carter children died before the book was finished, but Janette lived to see the end of the project (xi).

From Amazon.com, the cover of the book by Mark Zwonitzer and Charles Hirshberg is pictured below. The cover picture is one of the "classic" photos of the Carter family.



Cover of Will You Miss Me When I'm Gone? The Carter Family and Their Legacy in American Music by Mark Zwonitzer and Charles Hirshberg (Amazon.com)

The Carter family is remembered for their musical legacy. According to Langrell, the music of the Carter

family is the music of the Appalachian Mountains, including the ballads (1). Alvin Pleasant (A.P.), his wife Sara, and their cousin Maybelle made up the Original Carter family. Alvin Pleasant Delaney Carter was born in 1891 in Poor Valley (later called Maces Springs and now called Hiltons), Virginia. His family called him Pleasant. He later became known as "Doc" Carter and then as A.P. Carter (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 16).

Sara Carter was born in 1898 in Rich Valley, Virginia. The land was richer for farming there, unlike the poor land in Poor Valley. A.P. never liked farming, so he tried other jobs. He worked as a fruit tree salesman for his Uncle Flanders Bays, who owned a nursery. During one of his sales calls to a cousin's house, he heard beautiful singing. That was his introduction to Sara Dougherty, who would become his wife (33-35). Sara sang a song called "Engine 143." He liked Sara's looks as well, including her beautiful eyes and long hair. A.P. continued seeing Sara, and they got married in June 1915 (46-47).

By marrying into Sara's family, A.P. united two musical families. His mother sang the old mountain ballads, her father played the fiddle, and A.P.'s father played the fiddle. A.P. learned to play the fiddle and went to his Uncle Flanders Bays' singing school. A.P.

liked his uncle because his main business was the singing school first and then farming (18-19, 24, 29-33). Sara's friends and family played and sang music. She sang with her cousin, Maybelle Addington, who later married A.P.'s brother, Ezra "Eck" Carter. Sara, Maybelle, and Maybelle's sister, Madge, played music as a group. Maybelle's mother played the banjo and the autoharp, and she taught Maybelle to play both. Her uncle and brother played both the guitar and banjo. Maybelle said, "The songs we learned were taught to us by my mother, who learned them from her mother before her, who had, in turn, learned them from her parents" (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 70-71). As mentioned earlier, A.P. and Sara's marriage united two musical families in Virginia (40-47). When Maybelle married into the Carter family, she added even more music. Below is a picture of the Original Carter family from the Appalachian Voices website.



Maybelle, Sara and A.P. Carter on the road in the 1930s.
(Courtesy Bryant Music Label Co.). Appalachian Voices.
(Sullivan).

Maybelle, Sara, and A.P. started singing together and formed the Original Carter family. Maybelle was known for her guitar playing, Sara for her beautiful voice, and A.P. for singing bass and collecting songs. Maybelle and Ezra moved to Poor Valley after they were married, and A.P. and Sara were already living there. Sara and Maybelle were like sisters. They enjoyed having fun with everything, including their music (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 76).

When Sara, Maybelle, and A.P. started singing together, Sara sang just because she thought it was fun. The three of them played music with friends and neighbors. They played "music right in that little cabin at the foot of Clinch Mountain, and people would amble over to sit on the porch and listen. . ." (63). They became well-known locally and were invited to play at local events (63).

A.P. knew Sara and Maybelle made music that people liked and connected to, but A.P. thought they could go farther. In July 1927, Ralph Peer, together with Victor Recording Company, placed an advertisement for musicians to appear in Bristol, Tennessee. A.P. saw the advertisement. He borrowed his brother's car and took his wife, Sara, and their children along with cousin Maybelle, to Bristol to audition for Ralph Peer. The ad stated that each person who recorded a song Peer could use would be paid \$50 (77-78). During the same recording trip, Peer recorded Jimmie Rodgers, and Peer "almost single-handedly built the world's largest music publishing company. . ." (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 82). In 1927, Peer started the industry of country music as it is known today by recording the Carter family and Jimmie Rodgers in Bristol, Tennessee, at what became known as the "Bristol Sessions." Below is a picture of Peer.



Ralph Peer, who recorded the first country music artists in Bristol. Photo courtesy: BCMA. (Maeder). (Appalachian Voices).

Peer made possible recording stars of rural white musicians by "opening the field of recording to artists who had been left out, even while they held America's richest native musical traditions" (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 84). This was possible because Thomas Edison invented the record player or phonograph in 1892. Peer's first recording trip was to Atlanta, Georgia, in 1923 for Okeh Records, and he recorded Fiddlin' John Carson, "the first southern mountain music" recorded for Okeh Records (83, 87).

Peer continued working for Okeh Records and went to Bristol, Tennessee, in 1927. There he met the Carter family and Jimmie Rodgers. A.P., Sara, and Maybelle became known as the Original Carter family. At their first recording session, the Carter Family recorded six songs. All three of the Carters sang, and Sara and Maybelle provided the music. Peer was leery of Sara, a female, being the lead singer, but "he liked their music, and they went home \$300 richer for their efforts" (Public Broadcasting Service). Maybelle said, "I just couldn't believe it, this being so unreal, you standing there and singing and they'd turn around and play it back to you" (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 100).

The recording session was a success, and the Carter family was on their way to fame. Peer was surprised at the backward people and their dress. Later his son said that Peer commented that "they were good, but they didn't seem to know *how* good they were" (100-101). Zwonitzer and Hirshberg stated that they "won fame - if not fortune - because they would recast the traditional music of rural America for a modern audience" (10). By rewriting the songs, A.P. Carter "reworked them into the Carter style. Zwonitzer and Hirshberg go on to say that "the Carters' songs ... are mostly about life's buffeting - about love

and longing, hurt, loss, and suffering. In fact, it was precisely that clear-eyed and unwavering focus on the hard art of living that gave them such wide appeal" (10).

Finally, Zwonitzer and Hirshberg said that "[t]he Carters weren't simply an act; they were the real deal" (10-11).

Rita Jett Forrester, daughter of A.P. and Sara, said that "[t]hey were genuine, they lived those songs You knew it was from the heart" (Sullivan). That is why the Carter family became so popular with their audiences. They sang the old songs and ballads that people could relate to because the audience lived that lifestyle.

The songs and ballads the Carters left as a legacy came from lots of sources, their family repertoire, friends, and neighbors. Langrell stated that from 1927 to 1941, the Carter Family recorded "more than 230 songs" (1). The Carter, Dougherty, and Addington families knew many ballads and songs, and Zwonitzer and Hirshberg inform us that other people in the area shared songs with them (41). He also said that ballads were transmitted in two ways: by "straight lineal transmission," and the "Scotch-Irish ballads [that] came across the ocean with forebears and were passed down through generations" (41).

The descendents of each family changed the songs to fit their style, but the songs continued. The instrumental

dance tunes were also handed down. When Sara was young, the minstrel shows were popular and she learned songs from those groups (41).

All of these songs were available to the Carter family. As they became more popular and recorded more, they needed new songs. They used songs from hymnals, songs they sang in church, and old ballads. The ballads were shortened to fit the length of the time on the record. The Carters changed the songs to fit their musical style. A.P. gathered the songs, took them home and "work[ed] on them" or re[wrote] them to fit the "Carter style." He hummed the tunes for Sara, and Maybelle and they learned the tune of the song. A.P. Carter was a "songcatcher" in his own right. By traveling throughout the mountains of Appalachia, he gathered the songs and preserved them (122).

They only had one microphone and that made their harmony "real tight," (108) or as Zwonitzer and Hirshberg called it "small-group church harmonizing" (109). He said the Carters "set the standard for early country music, putting the voice ahead of instrumentation" (109). A friend of the Carters said, "[t]heir singing is how they got to where they wanted to be" (109).

The legacy of the Carter family is the music they left for future generations. Their songs are still available

today, and many have been recorded down through the years by other musicians. Anyone who appreciates old ballads, gospel music, and old-time music enjoyed listening to the Carter family.

The legacy of the Carter family was recognized by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 2005 when they gave Janette Carter, daughter of Sara and A.P. Carter, the National Heritage Fellowship award (National Endowment for the Arts). Janette carried out her father's wish to preserve their music. She passed away in 2006, leaving the Carter family legacy strong for future generations (New York Times). The influence on the music industry by the Carter family remains strong, and their songs are still recorded and sung today by other performers.

The Ritchie family of Viper, Kentucky, is another well-known Appalachian musical family who sang the old mountain songs and ballads. Jean Ritchie is the most well-known member of the family. She related the story of her family, their traditions, and their music in 1955 in a book entitled The Singing Family of the Cumberlands. She wrote the book in Appalachian dialect, which gives an authenticity to her story. She said her "very first memory is of our house - filled with crowds and noise and laughing and singing and crying" (4). Below is a picture of Ritchie

from the Kentucky Arts Council website publication The Blue Moon.



Jean Ritchie with Dulcimer
(Kentucky Arts Council)

Jean was the youngest of fourteen children. Songs and music were a part of the family's everyday life. Her family sang songs as they worked and played, whether it was cooking or cleaning in the kitchen or working in the fields. After a hard day's work, the family would get together and sing. Ritchie said,

I have never been able to decide which times I liked better, those winter evenings around the fireplace or the summertime twilights when the song and tale-telling would move out onto the

front porch. Even before I was old enough to take much part in anything else the grownups did, I was doing my share in singing up the moon on those soft summer nights. (Singing Family 15)

Her favorite place was to sit on the swing between her Mom and one of her sisters, listening to the music and the sounds of the night (16).

The songs the Ritchies sang came over with the immigrants who settled in Kentucky. Her mother and father both sang, and her father played the fiddle. They learned songs from their neighbors and people in nearby communities. She said that "[i]t was always a wonder to me how families living close to one another could sing the same song and sing it so different" (128). Ritchie said she learned the most songs from her Granny saying, "I guess she sung with me and learnt me more songs than anybody" (93). She said her Granny would sing with her until she knew all of the words. She also learned songs from her Uncle Jason. She visited him to get information for a paper for school. She learned several new songs that day and did not get home until dark. The family gathered more songs when the community got together at a "play-party."

People sang and swapped songs and entertained each other at the same time (107).

Ritchie learned to play the dulcimer from her father. She moved from Kentucky to New York and took her songs and dulcimer with her. She worked at the Henry Street Settlement, a Manhattan inner-city school. She taught the songs to the children and played them on the dulcimer. People liked her songs and music, and she started performing. Folklorist Alan Lomax scheduled her first performance in 1948 and helped her to record some of her songs. She became well-known for her ballads and dulcimer-playing during the folk movement of the 1960s. After the folk revival, she wrote several songs and continued to promote her music (Kevorkian).

Ritchie moved to New York and still lives there today, but she visits Kentucky in the summers, performing and telling her stories. She and her husband built a home in Kentucky, so they can "go home" any time they choose. In Jean's words, she said "I believe that old songs have things to say to the modern generation, and that's why they've stayed around. That's why I am still singing" (Folk Song Society of Greater Boston). Another reason she built a home in Kentucky so she could visit her family because family was and is such an important part of her

life. A Ritchie family reunion is shown in the video Mountain Born: the Jean Ritchie Story, which tells the story of Ritchie's life. In her book The Singing Family of the Cumberlands, she told how all the children married and moved away from home. She was home for a while without them because she was the youngest. At the end of the book, her siblings return home for a family reunion, and it was a surprise for her and her parents. At the end of the book, she said

I knew that no matter how far apart we might scatter the world over, that we'd still be the Ritchie family as long as we lived and sang the same old songs, and that the songs would live as long as there was a family. (254)

The Ritchie Family recorded an album for Folkways Records/Smithsonian Folkways in 1958. Her sister, Edna, recorded a CD of folk songs. According to her website, Jean still performs a few shows each year (Jean Ritchie website). In recognition of her accomplishments, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) gave Ritchie a National Heritage Fellowship Award in 2002.

Even though A.P. Carter never received any awards during his lifetime, he is recognized today as a

"songcatcher." Like A.P. Carter, Jean Ritchie was also a "songcatcher." She stated in The Singing Family of the Cumberlands that "we Ritchies loved to sing so well, [and] we always listened to people singing songs we didn't know, and we caught many good ones that way" (128). She published a book in 1965 (with a second edition in 1997) called Folk Songs of the Southern Appalachians, preserving the old ballads and folk songs for future generations. She said that "I guess if I had to categorize myself or pin down a description of what I do, I'd have to say I'm a carrier of tradition" (Folk Song Society of Greater Boston).

The Carter family and the Ritchie family, especially Jean Ritchie, were "songcatchers" of the old Appalachian traditions, songs, and music. Both families were "famous" for their songs, music, and contribution to preserving Appalachian ballads and music. Another family came on the scene in the 1980s, the Queen family from Western North Carolina. The family played and sang the traditional Appalachian mountain music their entire life.

The sound of music rang from the front porch of the old mountain cabin in Jackson County, North Carolina. The Queen family gathered there on the front porch doing what they do best, performing and singing traditional

Appalachian mountain music. Mary Jane Queen, matriarch of the family, grew up in a musical family, married into a musical family, and raised a musical family. Mary Jane was the daughter of Jim Prince, a well-known banjo player, who played for square dances and for his family's enjoyment. He learned to play the banjo as a young man, and he taught his children to sing and play the old mountain songs he had sung all his life.

Mary Jane stood at her father's knee and watched him play the banjo, learning the songs that he sang. He taught her to play the banjo. She played and sang with her brothers and sisters while growing up in the mountains of Jackson County, North Carolina. In her book, The Life and Times of Mary Jane Queen: Her Art, Her Heritage, Her Music, she said that as well as learning music, her mother "taught us how to dance like they did at the barn dances" (Queen 38). She met Claude Queen, and they got married in 1935. When they married, they united two musical families of Western North Carolina, and together they raised their own musical family of eight children (see photo below of the Queen family).



The Queen Family of Western North Carolina (1999)
([Henry Queen website](#))
Mountain Heritage Day Music Award - Western Carolina
University

The Queen family grew up singing the songs of their ancestors, much like the Carter and Ritchie Families. Both Mary Jane and Claude Queen played the banjo and guitar and sang along and taught the songs to their children. When the children got older, they taught them to play musical instruments and played for their own enjoyment. Family and friends visited and listened to their music and sometimes joined in and sang along. The family sang in church, performing the old mountain gospel songs they learned growing up. The family lived a happy life, enjoying their music while growing up on a farm.

The Queens family enjoyed the life they lived on their farm in Western North Carolina. As the children grew up, the family sang at home and performed at a few local events. The children married and moved away from home, and some moved out of state. When they came "back home" to visit, they sang and played the old mountain songs as if they sang them every day. Some of the family performed with other groups in the areas where they live. Some veered from the traditional music to more popular country and bluegrass music. When the family gathered at home, the music performed was a mix of the traditional Appalachian music, gospel, bluegrass, and country. Everyone enjoyed singing the old songs and learning new songs.

A change occurred in the family in 1984. Father Claude Queen died, leaving the family with a huge loss. The children continued performing music as they always had, but the change happened when Mary Jane Queen started performing with them. She sang the old mountain ballads, the songs she sang in church, and played her banjo. Everyone was fascinated with a woman playing the banjo, especially an elderly woman. She enjoyed performing with her children and entertaining the audience.

As Queen became well-known, schools invited her to visit and perform for the students. These performances

were some of the highlights of her long life. She regaled them with stories of her childhood, her gardening, and her music. The stories represented history to the young children, but Queen made the stories come alive because she had lived them. Many of the children wrote her letters telling her how much they enjoyed listening to her talk and sing. The teachers shared stories from the children about how they went home and talked to their parents about their family stories.

Queen not only shared her life and her stories with school children, but she also shared with school teachers from across the state of North Carolina. The North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching built a center in Jackson County, North Carolina (North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching). The teachers visited the home of Queen each year to learn about the Appalachian culture, heritage, and traditions. The teachers shared their knowledge with their students, passing on the Appalachian history and stories. Many of the teachers kept in touch with Queen, sending her cards and letters and returning to visit her in Jackson County.

By sharing her stories, wisdom, and music, Queen became known through Western North Carolina. She traveled to a few performances in the central and eastern parts of

North Carolina, performing with the family. Queen received her first award in 1992 from the Charlotte Folk Society. The Charlotte Folk Society "works to preserve musical traditions that might otherwise be lost to future generations" (Charlotte Folk Society). The Charlotte Folk Society produced Queen's first professional recording of Appalachian ballads, entitled "Fist Full of Songs." According to the Charlotte Folk Society website, they "began presenting its own Folk Heritage Awards in 1992, with the first honor going to Mary Jane Queen." Queen shared the news of the award with her family and friends, and they were proud of her accomplishment.

The award from the Charlotte Folk Society was the first of many. The North Carolina Arts Council honored Queen for her accomplishments in 1993. Queen and her family received Western Carolina University's Mountain Heritage Award in 1999 and received the Brown-Hudson Folklore Award in 2001. The Brown-Hudson Award was established in 1970 and is presented to "persons who have in special ways contributed to the appreciation, continuation, or study of North Carolina folk traditions" (North Carolina Folklore Society). Queen said she was proud that people were interested in the Appalachian

culture and heritage and glad that she could be a part of passing on the traditions.

Queen continued performing, sharing her music with all who visited her. People visited her from around the country to capture her story, music, and heritage. Stories first appeared in the local newspaper. National Geographic interviewed Queen; the Boston Globe came, along with others. When some people from outside the area visited looking for information on the Appalachian culture or people to interview, many stopped by Western Carolina University. Maggie Greenwald, a writer and film producer, visited the area in 1999. She and her husband visited Queen and spent the afternoon with her and her son. Queen inspired Greenwald to write a movie called Songcatcher, which was released in 2000. The movie received several awards, including a Sundance Film Festival Award for "outstanding ensemble performance" (Internet Movie Database). In an interview, Greenwald said that she "set the film in 1907 in honor of Olive Campbell" (indieWIRE).

The movie was filmed north of Asheville, North Carolina. Queen and her daughter visited the movie set and met several of the cast. Queen's pride showed when the movie played at the theater in Asheville, North Carolina. She and several family members went to the premier, and she

was interviewed by the newspaper. When people asked her what it felt like to be famous, she replied that she did not feel any differently than she felt before, followed by her famous laugh!

Lynn Hotaling of the local newspaper, The Sylva Herald, interviewed Queen after the movie came out. The character inspired by Queen was Viney Butler, a wise mountain woman. She sang one of Queen's signature songs in the movie, "I Wish I Was a Single Girl Again." Hotaling said that the "movie version of the song is reminiscent of Mary Jane's with regard to rhythm and phrasing, but Mary Jane says the words sung in the film are the Carter Family's and not hers. 'My brother and I wrote the words I sing,'" she said. Hotaling wrote that "Greenwald based her screenplay on the ballad collection of Olive Dame Campbell, wife of John C. Campbell, founder of the Brasstown folk school that bears his name."

Queen and her family continued performing music on their front porch as well as at local events, traveling occasionally to other areas to perform. Another visitor came in 2004 wanting to preserve the language of the Appalachian Mountains of Western North Carolina. Neal Hutcheson of the North Carolina University Life and Language Project described meeting the Queen family:

I met Mary Jane Queen and her family early in the production of a documentary called Mountain Talk, a two-week project that turned into two and a half years as I indulged a newfound interest in mountain culture. In visiting the Queens, I was taken by their effortless wit, their music and generous hospitality. Like a songbird, Mary Jane Queen springs in and out of song without prelude. There is an otherworldliness about their home place, a concentration of what I was beginning to perceive throughout the southern mountains. Heading up there from Cullowhee felt like moving from two dimensions into three; it felt somehow more *real* than the place I'd come from, a place characterized by highway construction, fast-food drivethroughs, and cell-phone towers. (Queen Family Movie)

Hutcheson decided that the Appalachian way of life needed to be captured, because just like the language, that way of life was disappearing. He visited the family and filmed for a period of one year. A video called The Queen Family: Appalachian Tradition and Backporch Music was released in 2006 and aired nationwide on public television.

After the documentary was released, Hutcheson created a website to promote the movie. It is entitled The Queen Family Movie website.

In a news release, Walt Wolfram, Executive Producer of the film and author of several books on Appalachian language, "believes the interest in 'The Queen Family' [video] reflects the wider interest people have in Appalachian mountain culture. The documentary also aids in preserving that culture." Wolfram goes on to say, "'I think we are a lot more conscious about preserving our past than we were 50 years ago. . . . There's a new concern for linking with our heritage whether it's through music, language or life'" (Queen Family Movie). The documentary contributes to the image of the family and preserves the music on the recording that accompanies the movie.

Neal Hutcheson, producer and director of the video, wrote the following summary of the production:

The Queen Family [video] represents one of the last pure strains of authentic Appalachian tradition. Sheltered by the forbidding and rugged landscape of Jackson County, North Carolina, their community has retained a keen sense of its own history. (Queen Family Movie)

Hutcheson realized the history and heritage of Western North Carolina. He wanted to preserve the language, the music, and the traditions.

Hutcheson gained insights about the family and culture and wrote about them in the summary of the movie:

Mountain tradition and the closeness of family and neighbors are here expressed in exuberant folk music played together with family and neighbors, outdoors on the porch. The songs come in many forms, from many sources. By and large, they are folk songs, telling stories and offering entertainment, instruction or consolation. The music itself is by turns joyful, comical and light-hearted, or dark and moody, a distillation of the soul of the culture. (Queen Family Movie)

Hutcheson captured the heart and soul of the Queen family, capturing their true spirit, mountain music, and traditions.

North Carolina State University preserved the music, heritage, and traditions of the Queen family on video. The awards received by the family show the interest in the heritage it has on others, especially the final award presented by the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Heritage Fellowship Award. Mary Jane Queen left a

legacy not only for her family, but also for all future generations. The photograph used in the National Heritage Fellowship award booklet is pictured below.



Mary Jane Queen (Henry Queen webpage)

Mary Jane Queen of the Queen family, Jean Ritchie of the Ritchie family, and Janette Carter of the Carter family were all recipients of the National Heritage Fellowship Award. The three families grew up in the Appalachian Mountains, living and learning the music and traditions of their families. All three of the families passed the heritage down to their children, just as it had been passed to them. All three families practiced their Appalachian traditions and left a musical legacy.

Primary sources used almost all reflect the idea of the mythologized family and the mythologized or imagined

"mountain heritage" and that have been commodified for popular audiences as part of the old-time music enterprise. The families discussed in this chapter represent the families that we live by (Gillis xv) and how it is evident in public images and representations of these three families, both as represented by the family-based performances and in how the families are depicted in popular culture. While families played a crucial role in preserving old-time music, the performers and the business also used idealized, mythologized representations of family to "sell" this music to their audiences who then consumed their products (performances, recordings, radio shows, magazine, etc.).

The Internet and popular culture materials helped with the research in this chapter. Much of the information on the families was only attainable on the Internet. Even though the author wrote the information from being part of the Queen family, other information on the family was only available on the Internet. Public Television supplied a website for the documentary The Carter Family: Will the Circle Be Unbroken. The website provided information that was not available elsewhere.

Chapter V discusses the ballads and musical style of Appalachia.

Chapter V

Ballads and Musical Style

Families preserved the music and traditions of their Appalachian ancestors. As a secondary source from the World of Gramophones website, the quote below portrayed Appalachian music and family as imagined and idealized. In an article about the movie Songcatcher, the website described Appalachian music as

America's most primitive music, our equivalent of the African drum-beat. In fact, the influences on Appalachian music are the very make-up of America: African banjos and rhythms merged with European fiddles and ballads. Through the 19th century, songs carried from homes far away kept their singers linked to the lives of their ancestors in the Old World. Soon these timeless ballads met the wood-carved instruments of the wild American mountains and Irish and English folk melodies blended with the intensely personal tone of the Southern blues. (World of Gramophones)

The article goes on to say,

[t]he songs of those times survive even now because they were part of the very fabric of people's lives. There was no way to make real money from music, so people played it to entertain themselves and to pass on legends and lessons to their children. The music was never elite or exclusionary - everyone in Appalachia, whether Scots-Irish or French or German or African-American, could either sing, play an instrument, dance or tell a story, often in a style distinctly their own. In those times, families might gather around to sing songs or tell stories before bedtime, or a whole village might gather after raising up a barn to dance, play music, and share tales. It was just an organic part of everyday existence. (World of Gramophones)

The music of Appalachia came in the form of old mountain ballads sung with instruments, as Cecil Sharp discovered, as well as in the form of fiddle and banjo music for dancing. James Porter defined a ballad as "a "popular or traditional song type . . . [that] originated in the late

Middle Ages, when epic and heroic songs served as entertainment" (Porter *et. al*). Dani Zweig defined a ballad as

a story, distilled to its essence and set to song. The song itself tends to be unpretentious - usually a simple verse form set to a modal melody. . . ." It is probably that simplicity has had much to do with the ballad's continued survival and popularity: Ballads have been passed down through the centuries, changing to suit the tastes of the singers, borrowing from the music of the day, borrowing from each other. . . . The result is a living musical tradition whose roots can be traced back over half a millennium. (Zweig)

Ballads were simple songs passed down to the Appalachian people from the first settlers. The music of the Scots-Irish fiddle passed down through the generations. In America, the immigrants made it American music.

The name of the Appalachian musical style changed down through the years, but the name most often used is "old-time music." The New Lost City Ramblers strived to preserve the style of the mountain music, adding that they "felt that song and style cannot be divorced - if the aim

is to present rather than interpret" (Cohen 10). Cohen stated that "[b]y strict definition, 'old-time' today would logically refer to music of the 1920s and '30s," but added that "sociologically, the setting is determined by the rural traditions of isolated mountain communities coming into contact with industrialized urban America." John Cohen goes on to say that "[m]usically, it was a period of experiment with no single style dominating," and "[h]istorically, old-time music is derived from the English folk ballads, which are sung unaccompanied" (10). Cohen's description considered all the different aspects of the traditions of mountain music. The Scots-Irish brought their music with them from Scotland, England, and Ireland, but the music developed into an American style.

The vocal style of American music changed through the years. Cohen described the music as "singing style is a matter of how the singer moves from one note to another . . ." (21). Individuals sang ballads, so there was only one voice. The Carter and Queen families sang harmony in many of their songs; however, Jean Ritchie and Mary Jane Queen were known for their ballad singing. However, the Carter family reworked and performed many of the old Appalachian ballads. Since all three families were "songcatchers," they sang several of the same mountain

ballads. Some of the songs performed by the three families were "Black Jack David," "Barbara Allen," and "Will The Circle Be Unbroken."

The ballads "Black Jack David" and "Barbara Allen" were collected by Francis Child, with several variants. Francis J. Child published five volumes entitled The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (1882-1898). Child researched and collected songs, but like Cecil Sharp, he focused more on the lyrics than the music. When Child went to Harvard, he continued researching and hunting ballads. Harvard Library has an extensive collection of folklore thanks to Child (Contemplator).

Many of the ballads collected by Child were the ballads the immigrants knew and brought to America when they settled. Child found several variants of the songs; likewise, there were many variants in America because the immigrants came from many countries. One ballad sung by many people, collected by Child and Cecil Sharp, was "Barbara Allen." Cecil Sharp collected ten variants of "Barbara Allen," which were published in English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians (published by Campbell and Sharp). He collected versions in North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia.

Jean Ritchie of Kentucky and Mary Jane Queen of North Carolina both performed and recorded "Barbara Allen," although their versions are different. According to the Contemplator website, there are "countless versions" with names like "Barb'ry Ellen" and "Barbara Ellen." The ballad is over three centuries old, and it is claimed by both Scotland and Ireland. The website said that "Samuel Pepys refers to the ballad as the 'little Scottish tune' in his Diaries in 1666" (Contemplator). Francis J. Child ballads all have a number and are referred to by that number. "Barbara Allen" is Child #84 and is in his book of ballads Volume II: 54-113 (Contemplator). The version sung by Jean Ritchie follows below. Ritchie said the "Ritchie version of 'the song everybody knows' is our family adaptation of the tune and text is found in the part of Knott County, Kentucky. . . . We knew at least three other tunes in the family, but this one is my own favorite" (Ritchie 73). The title to her version is "Barbry Ellen."

Barbry Ellen

All in the merry month of May,
 When the green buds they were swellin'
 Young William Green on his death-bed lay,
 For love of Barbry Ellen.

He sent his servant to the town
To the place where she was dwellin'
Sayin', Master's sick and he send for you,
If your name be Barbry Ellen.
So slow-lie, slow-lie she got up,
And slow-lie she came a-nigh him,
And all she said when she got there:
"Young man, I believe you're dyin'.

Oh yes, I'm low, I'm very low,
And death is on me dwellin',
No better, no better I'll never be
If I can't get Barbry Ellen.

Oh yes, you're low and very low,
And death is on you dwellin'
No better, no better you'll never be
For you can't get Barbry Ellen.

For don't you remember in yonder's town
In yonder's town a-drinkin',
You passed your glass all around and around
And you slighted Barbry Ellen.

Oh yes, I remember in yonder's town
In yonder's town a-drinkin'
I gave my health to the ladies all around
But my heart to Barbry Ellen.
He turned his pale face to the wall
For death was on him dwellin'
Adieu, adieu, you good neighbors all,
Adieu, sweet Barbry Ellen.

"Oh mother, mother, go make my bed
Go make it both long and narrow
Young William's died for me today
And I'll die for him tomorrow.

Oh she was buried 'neath the old church tower
And he was buried a-nigh her
And out of his bosom grew a red, red rose
Out of Barbry's grew a green briar.

They grew and grew up the old church tower
Until they could grow no higher
They locked and tied in a true lover's knot,
Red rose wrapped around the green briar. (73)

The version Mary Jane Queen sung is similar, but her title is "Barbara Allen." The first verse sung by Queen is also different and is not in the version sung by Ritchie. The first verse in Queen's version follows:

In Scarlet Town where I was born,
There was a fair maid dwellin',
Made every youth cry well away,
And her name was Barbara Allen.

People performed the songs from the versions they learned growing up. Queen's father taught her the version she sang. Ritchie's family taught her the version she performed.

Like "Barbara Allen," the "Black Jack David" is an old ballad, performed by the Carter family, Jean Ritchie of the Ritchie family, and the Queen family. According to the Contemplator website, the story of the ballad goes back to at least 1720, with the first printed version in Tea Table Miscellany (1740). Several variants existed, including "Johnny Faa," "Davy Faw", "The Egyptian Laddie," and "The Gypsy Davy and Lord Garric." In Appalachia, titles included "Johnny Faa," "The Gypsy Laddie," "The Gypsy

Davy," "Black Jack Davy," and "Black Jack David." Sharp collected this ballad in Appalachia and published seven variants in English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians (by Campbell and Sharp).

Jean Ritchie performed a version of the "Black Jack David" that was popular in the area where she grew up with her family. The title of her version is "The Gypsy Laddie." Ritchie added that many people knew the song as "The Wraggle-Taggle Gypsies" (Ritchie 80). The Carter family performed the version they learned in the Virginia area where they lived. Mary Jane Queen performed her version of the "Black Jack David" in the beginning of the Queen Family video. She learned the song from her father, who performed it from the time he was young. Queen taught the song to her family and they sang the song at most of their performances. Queen's version as follows:

Black Jack David

The Black Jack David come a'ridin thru the woods
 Singing loud and lovely,
 Black Jack David come a'riding thru the woods
 And charmed the heart of a lady,
 Charmed the heart of a lady.

How old are you my pretty fair miss,
How old are you my honey,
She answered him with a "tee hee,hee"
Said, I'll be sixteen next Sunday,
Be sixteen next Sunday.

Rise up; Rise up my pretty fair miss
and go away with me,
I'll take you across the deep blue sea,
Where you never shall want for money,
never shall want for money.

It was late last night when her husband came
Inquiring of his lady
He was told by the pretty fair miss
She'd gone with the Black Jack David,
Gone with the Black Jack David.

Oh, go catch up my bronco horse,
I'll put on my derby,
I'll ride to the East; I'll ride to the West
I'll ride 'till I find my lady
Ride 'till I find my lady.

Oh, he put on his high cork boots,
Then he mounted the saddle
Rode to the East and he rode to the West
And there he spied his lady,
In the arms of the Black Jack David.

The Carters, Ritchies, and Queens sang the mountain ballads like "Barbara Allen" and "Black Jack David" that they learned from their families. The families passed them down, and they are still being passed down today. The difference in the versions sung today is that they have been recorded, so they do not vary as much as ballads did in the past. Since all three families were "songcatchers," they hunted songs from others and made them their own, changing the words to fit their style (like the Carters) or adding to fragments to make complete songs (like the Carter, Ritchie, and Queen families).

The Carter family sung another song that has been recorded by many people, including the Ritchie and Queen families. The Carter family released "Will The Circle Be Unbroken" in 1935. They had recorded it at an earlier session as "Can The Circle Be Unbroken," but it was not released (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 177). The authors call it "another mother's funeral song A.P. had rewritten"

(177). A.P. used a tune similar to another song, which many people recognized. The Carter's version is "one of their best-known and best-loved songs of all time" (177).

The Carter family versions are as follows:

Can The Circle Be Unbroken

I was standing by the window,
On one cold and cloudy day,
And I saw the hearse come rolling
For to carry my mother away.

CHORUS

Can the circle be unbroken,
Bye and bye, Lord, bye and bye,
There's a better home a-waiting,
In the sky, Lord, in the sky.

Lord, I told the undertaker,
Undertaker, please drive slow,
For this body you are hauling,
Lord, I hate to see her go. + CHORUS

I followed close behind her,
Tried to hold up and be brave,
But I could not hide my sorrow,
when they laid her in the grave. + CHORUS

Went back home, Lord, my home was lonesome,
Missed my mother, she was gone.
All my brothers, sisters crying,
What a home so sad and lone
+ CHORUS. (Traditional Music Library)

The Carter family, the Ritchie family, and the Queen family preserved traditional songs like "Will The Circle Be Unbroken" along with the Appalachian ballads, "Barbara Allen" and "Black Jack David." The families learned the songs from their parents and grandparents, passing them down to the next generations. Songs and ballads were preserved because of this rich oral tradition. New technology preserved the songs on recordings, and new generations sang the songs and changed them to fit their culture. People outside the area, the marketplace, and technology all contributed to preserving the traditional Appalachian music. The Appalachian people performed the music and built family businesses from their talents.

In the final chapter, I present the summary, conclusion, and directions for future research.

Chapter VI

Summary, Conclusion, and Directions for Future Research

Summary

Culture, heritage, and traditions made the Appalachian Region a unique area. Traditions were learned, shared and enjoyed, and passed down to the next generation. The Scots-Irish and other immigrants settled in the Appalachian Mountain area. They brought their traditions with them when they settled in the 1700s and passed them down in their family.

The families represented in this paper are the families we live by (Gillis xv), the ideal, mythologized family image presented to the public. Appalachian families adapted to living in the rugged Appalachian Mountains and survived, but Loyal Jones stated that "[t]he Appalachian family is subject to the same stresses and strains that affect all American families," . . . but there is a strong attachment and commitment to the extended family in Appalachia that is becoming rare in a land where most of us live someplace other than where we were born" (80). Families changed through the years and continue to change.

Life changed after World War II, and families migrated from the mountains. They took their way of life, including their music with them. When the migrants moved the music from the mountains to the urban areas, they exposed the music and culture to the world. The music, culture, and the Appalachian people changed in the urban areas. Most adapted to the new way of life and did not return to the mountains and the life they knew and loved. The people changed because of life in the urban areas, as well as the way they were stereotyped by others and the media.

The media came to Appalachia during the Kennedy administration. The Johnson administration formed the Appalachian Regional Commission, and the Commission defined the Appalachian region. Because the media and others continued advertising Appalachia to the world in a negative way, the Appalachian people worked hard to change their image and are still working at changing the stereotypes today.

The people took their values with them, and their value system helped them through hard times, especially their family, faith, and music. The music reminded them of home and helped them to adapt to the new urban life. Other Appalachian families helped them with what they needed and invited them to be part of the community. New technology

became available, providing new forms of entertainment and changing the music industry. In the urban areas, people performed for others because they missed the music. Radio popularized the music. As the record industry grew, more people bought recordings. The Appalachian people took their music they performed on their porches in the mountains and shared it with the people in the urban areas, and many talented musicians started careers in the music business.

By taking the music out of the mountains, the people preserved it even though it changed. Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil Sharp preserved some of the first songs of the Appalachian people. As families started performing, they preserved the tradition. Three of these families were the Carter family, the Ritchie family, and the Queen family. The music was passed down from generation to generation, and each generation preserved the music, even though they changed it to fit their times. The "song catching" of these three families preserved traditions and passed the torch to a new generation.

The musical traditions preserved were the old ballads and fiddle music brought by the ancestors of the Appalachian people. The people "Americanized" the music and made it their own, changing it to fit their new life in

Appalachia. They performed the ballads at home on their front porches and later took the ballads and music to an audience. The audiences influenced the music because they requested popular songs. Again the Appalachian people modified and updated their traditional music and kept performing.

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

The purpose of this project was to contribute to the understanding of family in the preservation of Appalachian traditional music since few scholars have focused their research on this promising area of research. Suggestions for topics for future papers based on research could include the influence of African-Americans on the Appalachian culture, the history and use of musical instruments in Appalachia, and the influence of technology on Appalachian families and traditions. Another area of research could include the sociological aspect of the Appalachian family and how it has been mythologized.

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